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ABSTRACT

This study investigated factors leading to employment and unemployment for young people living in urban and rural areas in Scotland. Surveys and interviews were conducted with 817 youths, 40 rural employers, and 25 professionals from across Scotland. Findings include: (1) long-term youth unemployment was less common in rural than in urban areas, but rural labor markets were characterized by low skilled and insecure employment, with low demand for qualified workers; (2) with rural employment being concentrated in small firms, opportunities for young people to upgrade their skills were limited; (3) many rural employers had a poor knowledge of the New Deal, and even those who were aware of the program frequently were unable to meet minimum training requirements or provide access to external training; (4) poor or costly transport frequently restricted young people's employment opportunities; (5) social networks facilitated access to job opportunities for those young people with good local contacts, while lack of social networks was an important barrier to employment; (6) although female workers were often in high demand in tourist-related services, those with children frequently lacked access to childcare facilities; and (7) a shortage of affordable housing restricted the labor mobility of young people and caused difficulties for those who wished to remain within their local area. Appendices present quantitative methods, people interviewed, and regression variables. (Contains 18 references.) (TD)

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Youth unemployment in rural areas

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Work and opportunity series

Youth unemployment in rural areas

Fred Cartmel and Andy Furlong

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1 Youth unemployment in rural areas: issues

Introduction

Unemployment affects young people from all walks of life. Clearly some young people are more vulnerable than others, but in many ways a period of unemployment has become a normal part of the transition from school to work. While youth unemployment has been well researched, the majority of studies have focused on those living in urban areas. Although many of the problems associated with unemployment that are faced by urban youth also apply to those living in rural areas, rural youth face an additional set of barriers which are linked to their spatial isolation and to the narrow range of opportunities which are available. For rural youth, some of the most effective bridges into the labour market (such as education and training) may be limited or inaccessible and opportunities to fulfil aspirations may be restricted. In this report we look at the distinctiveness of rural youth unemployment and highlight the specific problems faced by those who live outside of the urban conurbations.

This report is based on research conducted in Scotland between November 1997 and September 1999. A number of complementary methods were used including a survey of 817 18–24 year-olds from across Scotland with recent experience of three months continuous unemployment (details of the sample are provided in Appendix 1). This sample is used to develop a macro analysis of youth unemployment and routes back into the labour market and to draw broad contrasts between the experiences of rural and urban youth. From this sample, 80 young people living in rural areas were selected for in-depth interviews about their experiences of unemployment and of their difficulties in finding jobs. To discover more about factors that either restricted the opportunities available to young people or smoothed their entry into employment, 40 rural employers were also interviewed, together with 25 key professionals such as Careers Officers, Jobcentre staff, Rural Strategy Officers and officials from Local Enterprise Companies. The report brings together these different perspectives to provide a comprehensive overview of youth unemployment in rural areas.

Rurality

From the outset, it is important to recognise that the term 'rural' is a concept which lacks an agreed definition and which encompasses a range of different geographic situations. Indeed, it has been argued that academic definitions of rurality often bear little resemblance to residents' understanding of the term (Jacob and Lubloff, 1995) and even that the terms 'rural' and 'urban' can be more confusing than illuminating (Pahl, 1966). In their study of unemployment in rural England, Stern and Turbin (1986) usefully identified four distinct types of rural area which were adopted for this study:

- traditional rural areas that are geographically isolated and have significant economic activity in the agricultural sector
- urban fringe areas in which employment is affected by proximity to more densely populated areas

- seasonal areas where jobs in a significant sector of the local economy (such as agriculture or tourism) tend to be available mainly on a seasonal basis
- ex-industrial rural areas in which the withdrawal of manufacturing or extractive industries has declined significantly in recent years.

Poverty and disadvantage can exist in each of these types of rural area and evidence suggests that a high proportion of the rural population in Scotland live in areas of deprivation. People in rural areas face three types of deprivation related to households, opportunities and mobility (Shaw, 1979). Household deprivation relates to constraints caused by low income and poor housing which frequently co-exist in rural areas. Opportunity deprivation is linked to lack of jobs and services. In turn, people's inability to find acceptable jobs or to obtain services leads to mobility deprivation. The accumulation of different forms of deprivation can lead to the isolation of particular groups in rural areas.

Rural youth unemployment

In many types of rural area, unemployment and under-employment among young people has been seen as a particular cause for concern and a key issue in rural communities is the lack of employment opportunities and career choices for young people. Indeed, research suggests that members of rural communities tend to express a great deal of concern about the problems faced by young people in the labour market and their lack of access to further education and training. There is also evidence suggesting that recent changes in the labour market (especially the decline in 'traditional' rural employment in agriculture and small manufacturing units and the increase in part-time and temporary jobs in the service sector) have had a particularly strong impact on the experiences of young people. Members of the 16 to 24 age group are most vulnerable to unemployment (in most European countries, youth unemployment rates are around twice as high as those recorded among adults) and researchers have highlighted significant associations between long-term youth unemployment and processes of socio-economic marginalisation.

In Britain, there have been few studies that have focused on youth unemployment in rural areas and knowledge of the significance of different barriers remains underdeveloped. With rural youth rarely being perceived as a threat to the social order and with city dwellers often regarding country dwellers as affluent, researchers have neglected rural youth. Previous rural youth research in Britain has tended to concentrate upon young people's transition from school into employment, their occupational aspirations and participation in youth cultures.

While recent changes in the labour market have been associated with a general increase in youth unemployment, significant barriers have been identified within many rural communities. In particular, researchers have drawn attention to the implications of poor public transport, a restricted range of employment and training opportunities and the high cost of housing. It has also been noted that rural youth have problems developing a sustainable career in labour markets that are often highly seasonal (Dench, 1985). Personal networks have also

been seen as providing bridges for some, but barriers for others. Indeed, professionals working in rural areas frequently express the belief that in small communities, young people's employment prospects are significantly affected by the reputation of other family members. These ideas are investigated more systematically in this report.

Although rural labour markets have tended to offer a limited range of opportunities for all age groups, changes that have occurred during the last decade have had a particularly significant impact on young people. There is evidence that seasonal, part-time and casual employment has increased and this trend is likely to have an important impact on young people. Scottish researchers have shown that while rates of post-school employment are relatively high in many rural areas, significant numbers of young people are employed on a temporary or part-time basis. These trends are significant because researchers and policy-makers know very little about the impact of non-standard employment (such as part-time or temporary work) on the process of labour market integration. Indeed, there is some controversy about whether non-standard labour market participation represents a bridge towards permanent work careers or a step towards labour force marginalisation.

Evidence from a recent study of employers on their use of temporary workers emphasised the positive aspects of non-permanent work for unemployed people. There are three different ways in which temporary work can provide a 'stepping stone' to permanent employment (Heather *et al.*, 1996). First, temporary work can provide access to the 'external labour market' through financing additional job-search activities, by helping demonstrate a commitment to finding paid work and through the provision of an up-to-date job reference. Second, temporary workers may gain access to information about vacancies within a particular firm through informal networks (referred to as the 'internal indirect route'). Third, an 'internal direct route' provides employers with a chance to 'screen' potential candidates for permanent employment. In smaller firms employers place a strong emphasis on finding workers who 'fit in well' and frequently select known applicants (Atkinson and Meager, 1995): this is particularly relevant in rural labour markets that are dominated by small companies.

There are also strong arguments to suggest that non-standard employment is associated with poverty wages and social exclusion. Recognising the significance of a 'benefit trap' whereby wages may barely exceed benefit levels, the Government has recently introduced a 'back-to-work' bonus in order to encourage unemployed people to accept low-paid and temporary employment: the underlying philosophy being that these jobs provide a route to more permanent jobs. In rural economies that are dominated by part-time and temporary job opportunities, this assumption may be incorrect.

It is clear that one of the priorities of research into rural youth unemployment should be to investigate the extent to which non-standard employment provides a bridge to permanent employment or a barrier to successful labour market integration. Although current policies operate on the assumption that temporary work is a first step to economic integration, the hypothesis has yet to be tested empirically: this is an issue that is addressed in this report.

The study areas

In the remainder of this chapter, we introduce the four study areas that were selected to conform to the typology developed by Stern and Turbin. The location of these areas is highlighted in Figure 1.

Ex-industrial area

The decline of manufacturing or extraction industries in rural and isolated regions leads to a set of circumstances which are far removed from any stereotypical rural idyll. Agriculture tends not to be an important sector, tourism is virtually non-existent and housing conditions bear many similarities to those found on the periphery of industrial cities. The ex-industrial area used in this study was located in the Cumnock and Doon Valley, a depressed area situated in Ayrshire which once had a thriving mining industry and buoyant support industries. The coal mines closed in the mid-1980s and with other industries facing problems due to the economic recession, unemployment rates rose sharply. Over the last decade, a number of new industries have been attracted to the area by the availability of grants and subsidies, yet many of these have relocated after a short period of time. At the present, the two largest employers in the area are in the textiles sector and based in the town of Cumnock.

This area has a rate of all-age unemployment that is much higher than any of the other four study areas (Table 1). The area also has the highest number of income support recipients and the lowest levels of owner-occupation in rural Scotland. Among the employed, the area has an extremely low proportion of managers and administrators and a relatively high proportion of semi and unskilled workers.

The largest town in the area, Cumnock, has a population of 9,500 and is 45 minutes travelling distance from Glasgow. The closest further educational college is ten miles from the main town (although there is a small annex of Ayr College in Cumnock), providing better access to tertiary education than any of the other study areas. The nearest institutions providing higher education are located in Glasgow. For young people in the area, rates of access to higher education are in line with the national average, while participation in further education is below average. Rates of entry into training are relatively high, although job entry is relatively low (Table 2).

Table 1 All-age unemployment in travel to work areas

	Jan. 1997	July 1997	Jan. 1998	July 1998
Argyll	8.8	4.8	7.9	4.2
Cumnock	18.9	13.9	15.2	11.7
Dumfries	7.6	4.9	6.0	7.2
Stirling	7.2	5.4	5.6	7.0

Source: Labour Market Trends, 1997/1998

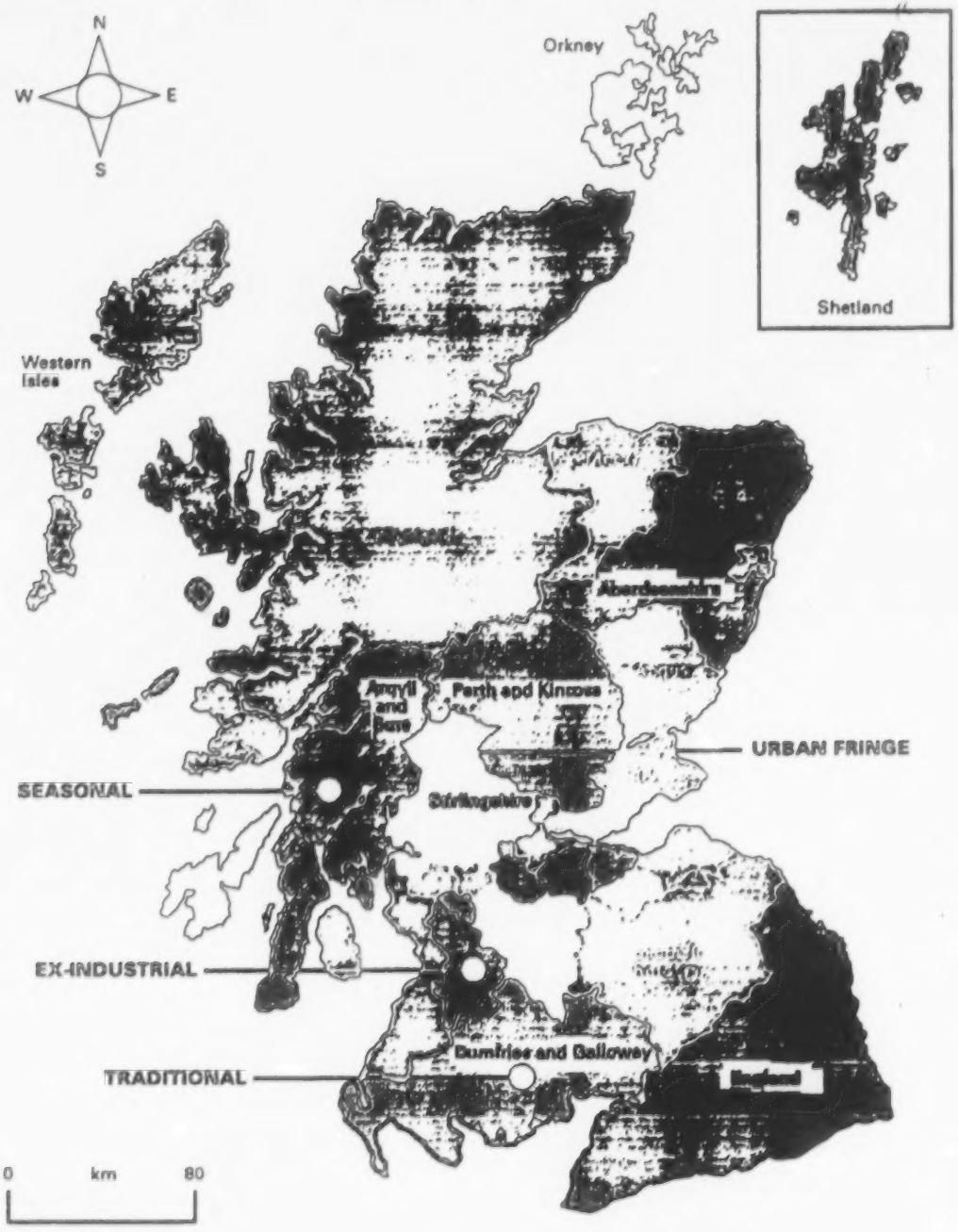

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Figure 1 Rural research areas in Scotland

Seasonal

The seasonal area selected, mid-Argyll, stretches from Lochgilphead in the south to small villages ten miles north of Oban. The main town in mid-Argyll is Oban, a small fishing port with a population of 8,800 which is the centre of commerce in the region. From Oban there are ferry links to islands off the west coast of Scotland. Tourism related jobs provide the main employment opportunities in the area, many jobs are seasonal and there is a strong part-time sector. Seasonal employment is also available in local fish farms which increase employment during the months of October, November and December.

The all-age unemployment rate is not particularly high, but seasonal variations are strong: the unemployment rate in January tends to be around twice as high as in July (Table 1). Home ownership is slightly below the Scottish rural average and the area has the second highest number of recipients of income support in rural Scotland. Among males and females, above average numbers work in managerial and administrative occupations.

For young people, there is no local access to further or higher education. The nearest college is located in the central belt of Scotland, a drive of over two hours each way over poor roads. Consequently a high proportion of young people from the area move to the city in order to participate in post-secondary education. As a result of the lack of local access, rates of participation in further education and training are relatively low, although participation in higher education is slightly above the Scottish average (partly because many young people regard higher education as the most effective way of leaving the area). With a strong seasonal labour market, the rate of job entry among school leavers is relatively high (Table 2).

Urban fringe

The selected urban fringe area is located in Central Region and covers the rural expanse north of Stirling: stretching from Dunblane in the south to Killin in the north. In an urban fringe area, employment is affected by the proximity to more densely populated areas. The main employment opportunities are in and around the town of Stirling, with local opportunities in forestry, tourism and miscellaneous local small businesses. From Stirling access to Glasgow and Edinburgh is

Table 2 Scottish school leavers destination - 1996/97

	Higher education	Further education	Training	Employment	Known destinations
Argyll	33	16	5	31	10
Cumnock	30	13	19	18	16
Dumfries	30	21	11	21	12
Stirling	38	11	10	23	16
Scotland	30	19	10	26	13

Source: SOEID Scottish Office

possible by road or train in around an hour. Consequently the area is popular among commuters.

Unemployment in the area is relatively low (Table 1) and there are a high proportion of owner-occupiers in the area. However, the number of income support recipients is slightly above the national average. Economic activity rates are slightly below the Scottish rural average, but the proportion of managers and administrators in the area is above the national average.

Young people in the area have access to a college of further education and a university at Stirling is one and a half hours drive from the furthest extreme of the study area. Participation in higher education is above the national average, although participation in further education is below the Scottish average (Table 2).

Traditional area

The traditional area selected is in the far south of Scotland and is situated around the town of Dumfries (population 32,000). The study area stretches from Thornhill in the north to Castle Douglas in the south. The majority of employment opportunities are located in Dumfries, although smaller local settlements have jobs in traditional rural industries. One small settlement, for example, has a large creamery and workers are brought in by bus from Dumfries due to a shortage of local labour. The area has the highest percentage of workers employed in agriculture in Scotland.

The unemployment rate is around the Scottish average (Table 1) while the number claiming income support is below average. The economic activity rate is above average. However, the area has an occupational structure centred around craft and lower skilled workers, with relatively few managers and administrators.

There is a further educational establishment in Dumfries, but young people who wish to participate in higher education have to travel either to Carlisle or Glasgow. However, the proportion of school leavers who enter higher education is in line with the Scottish average as are the numbers entering further education and training (Table 2).

Summary

In this chapter we have highlighted some of the main factors which affect the employment situation of young people in rural areas. Members of rural communities often regard restricted opportunities for young people in education, training and employment as key issues affecting the sustainability of their communities. They witness the difficulties faced by young people and see them moving between poor quality or temporary jobs and ultimately moving elsewhere in order to secure a better future. Even those fortunate enough to find a rewarding job within the locality frequently move away due to the lack of affordable housing. Against this backdrop of local concern, some researchers have also shown an interest in the dynamics of rural labour markets and in the problems faced by young people. However, compared to the vast research literature on urban youth, rural youth research is in its infancy.

Existing research has largely confirmed what has been known to members of rural communities for some time. Significant barriers to the employment of young people exist in the

form of restricted opportunities and the high cost of housing. The insecurity caused by a concentration of opportunities in temporary and seasonal work is damaging to morale and prevents long term planning. The bridges which help young people to secure access to quality permanent jobs are somewhat different to those which exist in the city: personal networks are of key importance and those without contacts can face marginalisation. Willingness to take part-time or seasonal work can also be important as it may provide the contacts which lead to further, perhaps more secure, work.

The main aim of this research is to fill some of the gaps in our knowledge of youth unemployment in rural areas and identify ways in which their situation can be improved. At the moment, there are a number of new initiatives being developed on a national basis, yet it is far from clear that approaches which work in urban areas will have any real impact in the countryside. This research aims to provide answers to these key questions and ultimately to improve the prospects of young people living in rural areas.

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2 Unemployment and vulnerability: urban and rural contrasts

Introduction

This chapter examines differences in the labour market experiences of rural and urban youth, drawing on a survey of 18 to 24 year-olds. With all young people in the sample having recent experience of unemployment, the aim is to assess differences in patterns of labour market integration and exclusion among vulnerable young people living in rural and urban areas.

Whereas subsequent chapters are based on the four specific areas in which interviews were conducted, the analysis presented here is based on a nationally representative survey with broad comparisons being drawn between rural and urban residents. Here rural and urban youth are defined by reference to the population density of the postcode sector in which the survey respondents resided.[1] Just over six in ten young people had postcodes that were defined as urban, while nearly four in ten lived in rural areas. Around one in four of the rural residents lived in isolated communities.

Through contrasting the experiences of urban and rural youth in employment, training and unemployment, it will be argued that on the surface, young people in rural areas are more advantaged than their urban counterparts. Unemployment duration, for example, may be shorter and transitions from unemployment to work easier to achieve. Yet the situation is made more complex by the nature of rural labour markets in which part-time or short-term employment is more common and job choice severely limited. With gender differences cross cutting rural/urban divisions, the differential experiences of males and females are also explored.

Young people's profiles

At the time of the survey, all respondents were between the ages of 18 and 24 with the age profile of males and females being similar.[2] Almost all were born in the UK, as were their parents. The majority lived at home with parents or close relatives: urban females were most likely to be living at home, while rural females were least likely to be living at home. Females in rural areas were most likely to report living with a partner while urban males were least likely to reside with a partner. Similar proportions of urban males and females and rural females lived alone or with friends, but fewer rural males lived in intermediary households. In both rural and urban areas, around one in ten respondents had children.

Although differences were small, those living in rural areas were slightly more likely to have fathers working in white collar occupations and to have self employed fathers. Differences in the occupations of respondents' mothers also showed little variation by area. In both rural and urban areas, around one in ten respondents had a father or mother educated to degree level.

In comparison to national statistics, among this sample who had recent experience of unemployment, a relatively high proportion left school at an early stage. Six in ten males along with four in ten females left school at age 16 or under; a majority of both sexes had left by the age of 17. Males in urban areas tended to leave full-time education earlier than their rural counterparts (Figure 2), although similar proportions had left education by the age of 17. Rural/urban differences in leaving patterns

were much narrower for females: those in rural areas were slightly more likely to have left by the age of 16, although by the age of 17 similar proportions had left education.

With the sample being drawn from those who had recently experienced unemployment, the qualification profile of the group is somewhat below that of the age range in general. Overall, more than half of the males and four in ten females were not educated beyond O grade standard. However, it is also important to recognise that the sample does include some relatively highly qualified young people: almost one in five females and one in ten males had university degrees, while more than three in ten males and females had either Highers or a college diploma. Among the males, those from rural areas had a stronger overall academic profile, while among the females differences were minimal (Figure 3).

Many members of the sample came from families that had also been affected by unemployment. Among both urban and rural youth, levels of parental current and long-term unemployment were high. Overall, one third of males and one in four females reported having

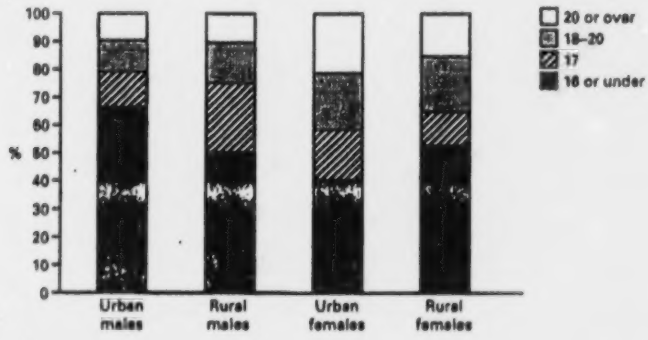


Figure 2 Age of leaving full-time education

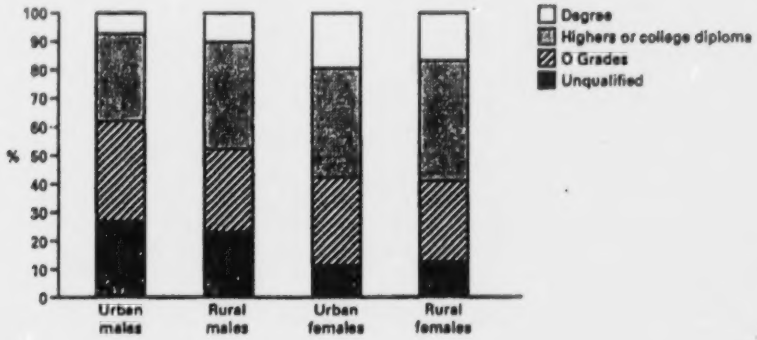


Figure 3 Respondents' highest qualification

fathers who were currently unemployed; similar proportions reported having an unemployed mother. More than three in ten males reported having a brother or sister currently unemployed; around one in four females reported having brothers or sisters who were currently unemployed. Many of these relations had been unemployed for six months or more in the previous year: more than three in ten males, for example, had a father who had been unemployed for over six months as did just over one in five females.

Figures for family unemployment of a duration of more than six months out of the last 12 are presented in Table 3. Males and females living in rural areas were less likely than their urban counterparts to have family experience of unemployment of six months duration, although urban/rural differences were smaller for females. However, in part this is likely to reflect seasonal variations in employment in rural communities.

Table 3 Percentage of respondents with family members who had been unemployed for at least six months in the last year

	Males		Females	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Father	35	26	26	19
Mother	38	27	28	25
Brother	37	31	25	19
Sister	31	20	22	23
n (base)	256	152	133	91

Employment

Although the sample was originally selected on the basis of their current unemployment, by the time they were re-contacted (six months later), around half of the females and around two in five males no longer described themselves as unemployed. Among both males and females, those living in rural areas were less likely than their urban counterparts to remain unemployed. Rural females were less likely to have remained unemployed than other groups (Figure 4). However, a significant proportion of those young people who had found work regarded their current jobs as temporary with nearly three in ten young people who were not currently unemployed saying that they were seeking jobs.

Of those who were no longer unemployed,

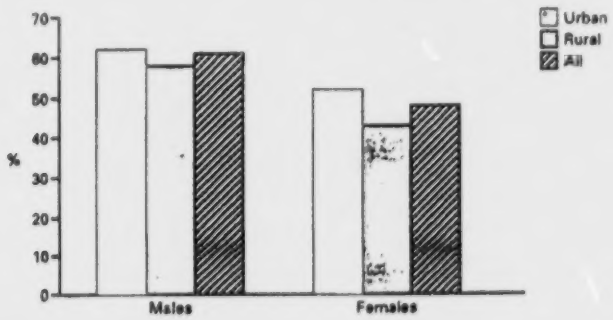


Figure 4 Current unemployment at re-contact

just over a third had entered full-time permanent jobs. One in five were in full time temporary or casual jobs and 15 per cent were in part-time employment. However, the existence of a strong temporary job market in rural areas does not explain the relative success of rural youth in gaining employment: males and females in rural areas were most successful in making a transition to full-time permanent jobs, while urban females were the least successful (Table 4). More males than females found full-time temporary or casual jobs (irrespective of area of residence), while females were more likely to find part-time employment.

Among the sample as a whole, average net income over the past month was higher for females (£337) than for males (£318). Among those who were not currently unemployed, males in rural areas had the highest average income, but females in rural areas had the lowest average income (Table 5). In other words, while rural females seem to experience relatively few difficulties moving from unemployment to jobs, they tend to enter poorly paid (sometimes part-time) positions. Among those who remained unemployed, those in rural areas had a higher average income than their urban counterparts, this may reflect a greater use of casual work to supplement unemployment benefits.

Contemporary debates about youth labour markets frequently draw attention to the relative disadvantage of males who are seen as less in demand in the growing service sector. Yet there is evidence to suggest that those females who lack basic qualifications or social skills experience profound difficulties in the labour market. This idea is supported by our data, although it seems to be urban rather than rural females who experience the greatest difficulties. While education and training are frequently regarded as important routes out of unemployment (especially long-term unemployment), these routes tend not to be so important in rural areas, partly due to the availability of seasonal and casual employment. However, the lack of incentive to embark on education or training routes may leave rural youth in a more or less permanent cycle of unemployment followed by short-term employment. Indeed, in comparison to other groups, relatively few rural females were in training and relatively few rural males or females were in education or training.

Table 4 Main activity during the last week of those no longer unemployed

	Males		Females	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Full-time permanent job	35	40	26	36
Temporary or casual job	25	25	11	17
Part-time job	12	14	21	25
Training	14	11	10	4
Study	6	3	8	4
Childcare	2	1	13	8
Other	7	5	10	3

Table 5 Average net monthly income, by employment status

	Not currently unemployed	Currently unemployed
Urban males	£464.52	£192.17
Rural males	£543.60	£217.76
Urban females	£453.21	£203.07
Rural females	£440.94	£244.13

Training schemes

Around half of the males in the sample and four in ten females had spent time on a training scheme. Levels of scheme participation were similar for males in urban and rural areas whilst among females urban/rural differences were more pronounced, being highest in rural areas (48 per cent compared to 37 per cent). Young people from rural areas tended to spend longer on training schemes than urban youths. The mean number of months spent on training schemes by males was 16 in rural areas and 13 in urban areas; for females the figures were 14 and 8 respectively. This is likely to be a reflection of restricted opportunities in rural areas. In both urban and rural areas, males had participated on an average of two schemes, while females in both urban and rural areas averaged just one scheme.

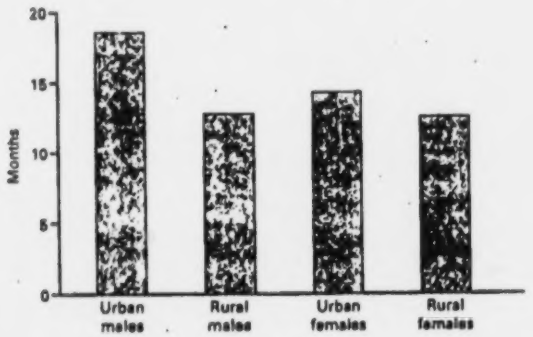
For many young people, training schemes cannot be regarded as safe routes from unemployment to jobs; less than one in four young people reported being in full-time jobs three months after leaving their schemes. Males in urban areas were slightly more likely to have entered full-time jobs than their rural counterparts, but for females there were no differences. Among the males, more than six in ten were unemployed three months after leaving their schemes, although far fewer females reported being unemployed. The lower unemployment rate among females was accounted for by a higher rate of part-time employment (especially in rural areas) and a greater likelihood of having entered full-time education.

Unemployment

All members of the sample had recent experience of unemployment of at least three months' duration. The average number of periods of unemployment since leaving full-time education was the same for males in rural and urban areas (three); females in urban areas also averaged three periods of unemployment, while those in rural areas averaged two periods of unemployment.

Total duration of unemployment, as well as the longest continuous spell of unemployment, tended to be higher for males than females; both measures of duration highlight greater experience of unemployment among urban youth (Figures 5 and 6). On average, the longest period of continuous unemployment for males was nearly six months longer in urban areas than in rural ones, and for females the average difference was a month and three quarters. Total unemployment experience was also six months longer for males in urban areas compared to their rural counterparts and for females just less than three months longer. Given the availability of seasonal, temporary and part-time work in rural areas, we would expect to find that the total experience (especially the longest period of continuous unemployment) would be shorter in rural areas. However, we would have expected

Figure 5 Longest period of continuous unemployment

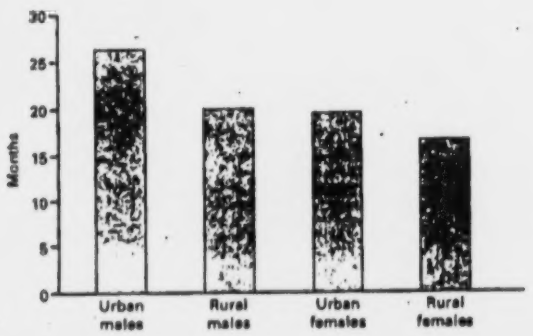


to find young people in rural areas experiencing a far greater numbers of (relatively short) periods of unemployment than their urban counterparts.

Given the overlapping and cumulative nature of factors associated with unemployment, logistic regression was used to predict the chances of a young person having had a continuous period of unemployment of a year or more since leaving full-time education. Separate analyses were conducted for males and females and a range of independent variables were introduced to account for differences in attainment, social background, labour market experience and spatial location (Appendix 4).

The results of the analysis were slightly different for males and females. For males, greatest protection against long-term unemployment was gained from qualifications: the higher the qualification, the more protection offered. Rural residence afforded some protection, although at a much lower level. Factors which increased the chances of lengthy

Figure 6 Total unemployment since leaving school



unemployment for males included having a father who had been unemployed for more than six months in the past year, childhood residence with people other than a natural mother and father, and age (older members of the sample being more likely to have been unemployed for over 12 months). For females, rural residence had no significant impact on unemployment duration, but qualifications also offered the best protection against a high total duration of unemployment. Having a father who worked in a non-manual occupation was also associated with a reduction in unemployment duration. The factors associated with an increase in unemployment duration were childhood residence with people other than a natural mother and father, and age.

Integration and exclusion

With unemployment having become part of the normal experiences of modern youth, debates have increasingly focused on patterns of exclusion rather than on rates of unemployment. Although there is no agreed definition of social exclusion, it is typically used to highlight dynamic linkages between material resources and attitudes and values which may be seen as reinforcing a situation of disadvantage. It underlines the ways in which disadvantage in one dimension of life can result in a new and more debilitating set of disadvantages.

To move beyond simple measures of unemployment duration, information on unemployment history and current status were combined so as to arrive at a typology of levels of integration. To construct this typology we used information on the extent to which labour market experience had been dominated by unemployment (constructed as a simple three way division of ratio of time unemployed to time employed together with details of current position) and linked this to current labour market position. Four labour market positions were identified:

- *Settled*: currently in full-time permanent employment, although members of the group could have had extensive or relatively limited experience of unemployment (20 per cent of sample).
- *Vulnerable*: below average total unemployment duration but currently not in full-time permanent employment (47 per cent of sample).
- *Marginalised*: average or above average total unemployment and currently not in full-time permanent employment (22 per cent of sample).
- *Excluded*: above average total duration of unemployment and currently unemployed (11 per cent of sample).

Table 6 shows the proportion of young people from rural and urban areas who fall into each of these labour market positions. These figures show that males and females in rural areas are more likely to occupy settled labour market positions. Males were more likely to be excluded than females, with rural males most likely to be excluded and rural females least likely to be excluded.

To highlight linkages between labour market situations and psycho-social adjustment, the mental health of males and females in each of these groups were compared using the General Health Questionnaire (GHQ). First, we found that females had more negative scores than

Table 6 Labour market position by residence

	Males		Females	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Settled	17	22	17	25
Vulnerable	47	49	48	45
Marginalised	25	14	25	24
Excluded	11	14	9	6
(n)	(326)	(179)	(171)	(107)

males; and second that males and females in rural areas had more positive scores.[3] Third, for males and females mental health scores become progressively more negative as we move from the settled to the marginalised statuses (Table 7). This suggests that labour market exclusion has important implications for young people's mental health.

Table 7 Mean GHQ scores by status group

	Males	Females
Settled	8.89	10.89
Vulnerable	11.95	12.25
Marginalised	12.26	15.30
Excluded	12.77	15.43

Summary

In this chapter we have highlighted differences in patterns of labour market integration and exclusion in rural and urban areas. We suggest that, from a quantitative perspective, there is little evidence to support the idea that rural youth experience greater difficulties in the labour market than their urban counterparts. The key to success in both labour markets appears to be educational qualifications. Among those with recent experience of unemployment, males in urban areas tended to leave school at a relatively early age, and have fewest educational qualifications. However we measure the experience of unemployment, it is urban males who have the greatest experience of unemployment, although there is evidence of relatively high levels of labour market exclusion among rural males.

Within rural areas, females are less likely than males to experience prolonged or continuous periods of unemployment and are more likely to find work quickly after a period of unemployment. In part, this is likely to be a result of a higher demand for female labour in tourist-related services, which are often part-time. However, rural females tend to have stronger educational qualifications than rural males and this is also likely to confer advantages in the labour market. While young people in urban areas frequently end a period of unemployment through returning to education or taking up an offer of training, those in rural areas are more likely to secure direct entry back into the labour market with relatively few ending their unemployment via education or training routes.

The other common misconception which needs to be addressed relates to the idea that young people in rural areas have a chequered labour market history characterised by frequent moves between temporary and poorly paid employment situations, often interspersed with a period of unemployment. The average number of periods of unemployment experienced in rural and urban areas was very similar. Young people in rural areas are more likely than those in urban areas to secure a full-time permanent job after a period of unemployment and, on average, tend to get

higher wages. As a result, there is evidence that young people in rural areas enjoy better mental health than those in urban areas.

After using multiple regression to untangle the overlapping effects of the factors which we discussed, qualifications emerged as the factor which provided greatest protection against a long period of unemployment: the higher the qualifications, the more protection offered. A number of factors associated with social background were apparent, but the impact of rurality was weak for males and not significant for females. In other words, the main reason why rural females experience relatively low levels of unemployment is to be found in the value of their qualifications on the labour market.

Notes

1 Those residing in postcode sectors with a density of up to 4.0 people per hectare are defined as rural. Isolated areas are those with a density of less than 0.1 person per hectare.

2 Mean ages differ by one month, standard deviations vary by 0.07

3 Urban males 11.92; rural males 10.83; urban females 13.36; rural females 12.57.

3 Employers' perspectives

Introduction

In the previous chapter we suggested that differences in patterns of unemployment between rural and urban labour markets are often exaggerated and that qualifications provide the best insurance against long term unemployment. However, employment opportunities in rural areas tend to be quite distinct and both employers and young workers face a different range of problems. Many rural labour markets are dominated by small companies which offer a limited range of employment opportunities. Facilities for the provision of training in such firms may be restricted and labour mobility is an issue which has to be confronted by many employers.

In this chapter we focus on the perspectives of employers and key professionals on the youth labour market. Although there were important differences between the four rural areas, a number of common themes emerge. The demand for educated and skilled young people tends to be low and those jobs which are available tend not to be demanding or fulfilling. With a scarcity of quality jobs, levels of mobility largely determine access to training and skilled jobs. With informal recruitment networks being important, strong local contacts and a good personal reputation can have a crucial impact on levels of success in the labour market.

Forty employers (ten in each area) were given the opportunity to discuss their experiences of young people as employees, their recruitment strategies and the availability of skill and training provision.[1] They were also asked for their views on training programmes, such as the New Deal, and about strategies for improving the employment prospects for young people. Within each area, firms of different sizes and within different employment sectors were contacted.[2] In common with the overall pattern of employment in rural areas, local labour markets tended to be dominated by relatively small employers who were able to offer little in the way of training. While some larger employers were located within the ex-industrial area, few were currently recruiting new workers.

Those interviewed ranged from managers of large multinational manufacturing companies employing over one hundred employees to small family-run hotels which employed two people. With strong differences in the labour markets of the study areas, most of the employers interviewed in the 'seasonal' labour market tended to represent small service sector firms while contacts in the ex-industrial area tended to represent larger firms within the manufacturing sector. Although there were eight firms which each employed over one hundred people, more than half of the employers interviewed employed less than 20 people, with the remainder employing between 30 and 75 individuals.

Many of the employers had relatively few young people among their staff and these were frequently employed in insecure positions. In one of the larger firms which employed over a hundred people, for example, there were only four young employees and these were the only staff to be employed on a seasonal basis. In each of the areas, many of the largest employers of young people recruited on a temporary or seasonal basis: these included hotels which employed additional workers during the summer months, fish farms which

required extra labour between October and December, and manufacturing concerns which relied heavily on temporary workers in times of peak demand.

The perspectives of key professionals in the local labour markets are also reported in this chapter. Twenty-five key professionals were interviewed, including Careers Officers, Rural Strategy Officers and representatives of Local Enterprise Companies. Their views on the problems faced by young people in the local labour market were quite similar to those of employers, although the key professionals also tended to have considered solutions to these issues.

The labour demands of rural employers

In general, employers' demand for labour was low in all the study areas with recent heavy redundancies in the ex-industrial area, making job prospects particularly poor. Within an overall context of low demand, there were firms which had relatively young workforces and others with little experience of young workers. One manufacturing company, for example, regarded young workers as particularly suitable for strenuous repetitive manual labour. In contrast, a firm within the caring services sector employed just five 18 to 24 year-olds within a total workforce of 135 (three of whom were temporary). This particular employer felt that young people lacked the emotional resilience to deal with the client group.

Differences in opportunities for young people varied significantly between the study areas. In the seasonal area, there were many vacancies suitable for young people in the summer months. However, these were largely filled by young people from outside the local area (including some from overseas). In the ex-industrial area, very few opportunities existed for young people. In the other two areas the youth labour markets were more stable, although young people were still faced with a number of barriers (such as transport).

Leisure Hotels plc

A national company with outlets throughout Britain has a hotel situated in a picturesque location beside one of Scotland largest lochs. The hotel employs 17 staff, all of whom are full time; 14 are between the ages of 18 and 24. The majority of staff live in accommodation provided by the hotel, with only one young person travelling from the local village. The hotel is keen to provide their staff with college training in order to provide a better service for their clients. The average wage for a young person is £112 per week for those who live on the premises.

McDonald's Hotel

McDonald's hotel is a family-run business. The owners are now approaching their second season in the area, after relocating from the north of England where they ran a similar business. The owners complained about having major problems recruiting workers and, as a result, presently employ three young people from South Africa. In their first season they had managed to find local workers, but both had recently had children and were unable to find suitable childcare facilities in the area. Although the owners did not regard wages as contributing to their labour shortage, they stressed that they were not prepared to pay more than £3.00 an hour for workers at any level.

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Employers often argued that there is a relatively low demand for young people with strong educational qualifications; this was true in each of the study areas. They suggested that qualifications provide young people with few advantages in rural labour markets, although they are frequently seen as the key to geographical mobility. In some ways, the rhetoric falls contrary to their recruitment practices, a phenomenon noted in urban labour markets nearly 20 years ago (Ashton *et al.*, 1982). Employers who had low skill requirements frequently argued that personal characteristics were of greater importance than qualifications, but then identified the personal characteristics they valued among qualified young people. The demand for educationally qualified workers among the employers interviewed fell into three broad categories:

- Those who recruited young people into low-skilled repetitive jobs, which needed minimum or no educational qualifications (the largest category). Young people recruited usually lived within the local area. Wages tended to be poor and employers were aware that young people tended to find such jobs unfulfilling. While these types of employment remain the staple diet of the youth labour market young people are likely to continue to seek to move away from rural areas.
- Firms who sought young people with 'Highers' or a college diploma. These young people tended to be recruited locally into skilled or semi-skilled jobs which require a degree of additional training. Training was normally provided in-house; a few employers required employees to gain additional training at a local college on a day-release basis. In order to enhance the position of young people in rural areas, ways of developing this particular segment of the youth labour market are crucial.
- Employers recruiting graduates for professional and managerial positions (the smallest category). These young people were recruited from a national labour market and tended not to have local connections. An expansion of this segment of the youth labour market is unlikely to have much impact on those already living in rural areas.

With most employers seeking unqualified labour, some held the view that young people with qualifications were unsuited to work within their firms. A feeling was expressed that qualified young people tended to get bored quickly and tended to leave their firms after a short period.

> *We're not looking for people who are very well educated because the job is quite repetitive and I mean they might sort of come in for a few weeks and this isn't ... you know it doesn't tax their brain.* (Manufacturing Urban Fringe)

While among the majority of firms little demand was evident for educational qualifications, the importance of previous work experience was stressed by many employers. Several expressed the view that most of those young people who were facing difficulties in the local labour market did so as a result of a lack of work experience. In contrast, older workers were seen to be advantaged as a consequence of previous experiences.

I think the young people have got a horrendous job ahead of them in this area looking for work, unless things have changed recently. The number of adults available for work is colossal; there's a huge pool of labour out there and many employers will take someone with previous experience and maybe train them in some aspects of the job. You've got people with a proven work history. Youngsters have no work history. (Manufacturing/Service Ex-Industrial)

Many young people shared this view and felt that failure to get jobs in the past was linked to a lack of work experience. Indeed, some argued that they were in a 'Catch-22' situation: they cannot get a job because they have no work experience, but cannot get work experience as they cannot get a job. As a consequence, some actively sought part-time employment as a way of trying to break this cycle. Given the importance of work experience, initiatives such as the New Deal may well have an impact on the prospects of young people in rural areas.

For employers, the personal characteristics or 'soft-skills' of potential employees (sometimes seen as confirmed through previous work history) were particularly significant. Many regarded them as more important than educational qualifications, especially in the service sector. Where employees would be spending time dealing with the public, in hotels, for example, 'clean-looking, energetic young people' were in demand. Personal skills highlighted by employers included dress, appearance, motivation and attitude through to accent and telephone manner. However, the premium placed on 'soft-skills' was not confined to service roles: the ability to work as part of a team and relate to others was frequently stressed.

Certainly at least 60 per cent is down to personality, how they'll fit in with the team, how they respond to the sort of questions that we ask. (Manufacturing Traditional)

Although few employers were disparaging about the personal skills of young job applicants, some held the view that older workers were more likely to possess highly developed social and personal skills.

Training and rural firms

Given that many rural firms had a high demand for relatively unskilled labour, training provision was low and, for the majority, provided in-house. Frequently it was confined to showing a new worker the required way to perform a given task, with some firms stressing the importance of hiring workers who were willing to become accustomed to a 'house-style'.

Yes, well actually I like to get waitresses who haven't done any waitressing at all. I train them my way and the three waitresses I've got are excellent. (Hotel Owner, Traditional)

Several employees did require their employees to gain additional vocational qualifications at college and these usually provided such opportunities to those who had been with them for a few months. There were also companies who ran a traditional, although small scale, apprenticeship programme. Those firms who wished to provide their employees with access to external training programmes frequently drew attention to the difficulties posed by lack of local provision. There were also examples of companies who had a general policy of encouraging vocational training

through paying fees for evening classes (although few young workers were enrolled on such courses). Other companies provided training for young people who were promoted into higher skilled jobs within the firm, although such promotions tended to be at a low level (such as from the factory floor to forklift truck driving). Frequently such training was linked to Health and Safety requirements, as in the firm who sent new employees on a course in chainsaw handling.

Scissors

This long-established hairdressing shop employs four young people in their business, which is situated in a small town. The four young people employed are all apprentices with the last recruit being taken on over a year ago. The staff receives vocational training at a college 40 miles away where they are undertaking NVQs.

Established crafts

The old established craft company has had little fluctuation in business over the last ten years and employs nine full-time workers, one part-time worker and seasonal staff in the run up to Christmas. The company employs one young person who was taken on two months ago. The young person will receive two to three years on the job training to develop the skills needed to do the job and attend an educational establishment to attain an educational qualification. The wages for a young person in the company are £112 per week.

In all four areas, Careers Officers highlighted the lack of training opportunities and argued that even those fortunate enough to secure employment which involved training were unlikely to secure training in a preferred occupation. Examples were cited of young people who had to abandon long-held aspirations due to a lack of training places. A young person who had wanted to be an electrician, for example, was unable to secure an apprenticeship in this field and had to accept training in a very different occupation. Careers Officers also argued that even when they had identified a training opportunity, many young people would be unable to avail themselves of the chance to be trained due to transport difficulties. It was suggested that many young people had to accept low skill and insecure jobs due to a lack of training provision and that subsequent unemployment was often a result of a lack of skills.

With the introduction of the New Deal, employers were asked about their knowledge of the scheme and of any experience of involvement: very few were actively involved and knowledge was limited. The employers interviewed fell into four groups. First, those who had no knowledge of the New Deal. Second, those who had decided that it was not appropriate for their company or were currently considering their position. Third, companies who had actively attempted to become involved but had encountered obstacles. Among this group, the low skill levels of job opportunities within their firms often meant that they could not provide meaningful training. Fourth, employers who had no intention of becoming involved, sometimes because it would mean changing their normal recruitment practices.

There are few incentives for us to take people on through New Deal. We've found that it's easier for us and it's better for our requirements if we go through just the word of mouth, it's fairly cut and dried and quick and easy, you know. Okay you haven't got a hundred per cent guarantee of the person you're getting, obviously, but it's better because we're relying on somebody who actually works here who knows this person we're hoping because of that we don't have any repercussions.
(Manufacturing Ex-Industrial)

Recruitment practices

While informal networks carry an important recruitment function in rural areas, some employers regarded advertisements in the Jobcentre and local newspapers as their preferred source of recruitment. However, informal networks were important. These networks include 'letting it be known' locally that they were seeking additional workers, as well as local knowledge about seasonal demand for labour. One employer who recruited heavily on a seasonal basis, for example, highlighted the importance of the local 'grapevine'. This employer, who frequently recruited extra workers from January to May said that they did not have to advertise as:

We seem to have a grapevine that works itself. It's very useful, all of a sudden there's a few people at the door looking for work.
(Manufacturing Ex-Industrial)

Informal networks were also seen as a 'safe' avenue of recruitment due to prior knowledge, as well as inbuilt social controls.

Woodlands
A timber company based in one of the areas claimed to be the largest rural employer in the area. The company employed 57 people, with the majority of the employees being between the ages of 18 and 24, all of whom were males due to the physical strength needed to do the job. The company had expanded over the last few years and now operated a two-shift system to accommodate the extra workload. The company was one of the first in the area to sign up for the New Deal, but unfortunately could not participate due to lack of college training being available to employees. The management was keen to get involved with the New Deal, as they anticipated the personal adviser being able to notify them why young people left the company. The company had high turnover of staff and bussed workers in from up to ten miles away.

Knitwear Ltd
This was one of the largest employers interviewed during the research, with a workforce of 180 full-time employees and 17 part-time workers. The company has recently reduced their workforce again, having reduced the workforce from three hundred in 1996 to their present level of less than two hundred. The company employs nine females on the shop floor between the age of 18 and 24, having recruited the last young person over a year ago. On the job training is provided for new recruits. The workforce all lives within a ten mile radius of the company's site and the average wage for a young person working at the factory is £160 per week.

Well I think it gives you some sort of ... if the person recommends his son or nephew there's some sort of responsibility for them. (Manufacturing Urban Fringe)

Several key professionals also highlighted the importance of informal networks. They suggested that many young people secured employment through family connections. Even the Careers Officers argued that informal networks mean that, compared to urban Careers Officers, their role in matching young people to available vacancies was much reduced.

Young people as employees

Although the many rural employers tended to be sympathetic to the employment needs of young people in the area, their lack of work experience was frequently stressed as a barrier. The majority of employers said that they had positive experiences of young people and comments were made about the ways young people brought the workplace alive with their new ideas and general positive attitudes. However, others had more negative attitudes and stressed attitudinal and disciplinary problems.

We have had young people in the past that we've had to get rid of fairly quickly because they just weren't suitable for the job. Not that they weren't able to do it, they just didn't have the correct work ethic or they were disruptive or whatever but that always happens. (Manufacturing Traditional)

Some employers, especially those in the more remote areas, argued that, despite a willingness to recruit young workers, few young people applied. Some of this was a result of transport difficulties, but wage levels were often poor which meant that young people would spend a high proportion of their wages on travel. A wage of around £3 per hour was common, and 25 per cent of employers interviewed paid less than the statutory minimum of £3.60 at age 21. There was little variation of wages between areas, but lowest wages were consistently found in the service sector.

Designer Clothes

This specialist clothing firm employed 20 people but had not increased its workforce during the last two years. The firm relied heavily upon overseas customers for their trade and the strong pound was having an effect upon their sales. The increased diesel price also affected the company who brought in all their raw materials from England. The only employee between the age of 18 and 24 had been taken on when he had left secondary school at 16. The young person was the only employee who relied upon public transport to get into work and was often late in the winter due to poor road conditions.

The way ahead

In each of the areas, employers and key professionals were asked for their opinion on effective strategies to develop the local economy and improve the situation for young people. Many were critical about the lack of long-term economic strategy for their area and of limited term grants to companies which frequently relocated once they had to bear the true costs of operating in the area.

*They bring in big fancy companies at some time or another and they're here for a year, two years, but you know that before they even start with the grants and then they just disappear and there's no comeback ... (later on) I've seen it time and again in ** and you could just about put a date on the time when they're actually going to pack up, close the door and leave.* (Manufacturing Ex-Industrial)

Among key professionals, including Rural Strategy Officers, a variety of approaches were suggested. Information technology was seen as central to the creation of future job opportunities in the more remote areas, whereas in the urban fringe the development of small manufacturing units was the preferred option. A number of key professionals highlighted what they saw as a restrictive 'local mind set': in areas where tourism was important, there was some hostility to the development of more manufacturing industry.

Summary

In this chapter we focused on the perspectives of employers and key professionals in four rural labour markets which had significant structural differences. However, similar issues emerged. Many firms employed very small numbers of young people and, within the company, these usually occupied the most insecure positions. Many employers relied heavily on temporary workers, and most expressed a low demand for educationally qualified workers. 'Soft-skills' and past work experience were seen as the most important qualities and recruits were expected to be able to fit easily into the work environment. At the same time, although experience was valued over qualifications, many young people with work experience and 'appropriate' soft skills also had strong qualifications and qualified workers are recruited almost by default.

Formal training provision in each of our areas was rarely in evidence. Few offered more than short on-the-job training programmes or training which was legally necessary to meet minimum health and safety requirements. The New Deal is unlikely to make a great difference: knowledge of the scheme was limited, few expressed an interest in involvement. Even among those who had investigated the possibilities offered under the New Deal, some felt unable to offer the necessary training to potential recruits. However, given the importance placed on work experience, if employers can be persuaded to participate, there may be some benefits for young people.

Notes

1 Details of employers interviewed are provided in Appendix 2.

2 Employers were selected to reflect the range of employment provision in each of the areas after reviewing business directories, Jobcentre vacancies and newspaper advertisements. Advice was also sought from key professionals within the areas.

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4 The perspectives of rural youth

Introduction

In Chapter 2 we contrasted the employment experiences of young people living in rural and urban areas from a quantitative perspective. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the bridges and barriers to employment from young people's perspective. It is important to remember that our sample of young people had all experienced a recent period of unemployment and therefore the analysis reflects the experiences of a relatively disadvantaged group. As such, the barriers highlighted should not be regarded as ones to be negotiated by all young people in rural areas. With the study being conducted in contrasting rural areas, some of the issues highlighted are specific to particular types of rural labour market (such as the implications of severely restricted job opportunities in the ex-industrial area). However, most of the issues identified are common to young people in each of the study areas.

A total of 80 in-depth interviews were conducted with young people, 20 in each of the areas. On average, interviews lasted 40 minutes and all were tape recorded and transcribed. The sample was drawn from respondents from the quantitative study with young people being selected to ensure a representation by gender, age, educational attainment, length of previous unemployment and household composition.[1] A number of self-employed young people and single parents were also selected. With the sample being comprised of those living in four specific areas, those who had moved to other areas were excluded from the study.

Recognising that the experiences of geographically mobile young people are likely to differ from those who remain in their home area, information was sought on their new locations and reasons for moving. Fourteen young people (mainly males) from the study areas had moved away from home before we were able to arrange interviews. From the information we were able to collect, there appeared to be four distinct types of movers. First, young people who had moved away for educational reasons. Second, those who had moved in order to accept an offer of employment (examples include one joining the army, one working in a hotel in the Lake District and one working in an engineering company in Scotland). Third, the largest single group, those who moved to search for work in areas which were perceived as having stronger employment prospects (examples include a young woman living with friends in London and one who had moved to the nearest large town, Stirling). Fourth, those who had been thrown out of the parental home and whose parents had no information on their whereabouts.

The main barriers which emerged centred around the lack of job opportunities (especially in the ex-industrial area) and the poor quality of those jobs which were available for young people. The employers' view that demand for young people was concentrated in low skilled jobs, was borne out by the experiences of young people. Work experience was also perceived as an important bridge to employment, although with mobility between temporary and/or part-time jobs and the full-time permanent labour market being restricted, experience in the less secure segments of the labour market did not translate very easily into more secure employment. For young women with children,

the lack of childcare facilities posed a serious barrier to employment.

Other significant barriers related to poor (or sometimes virtually non-existent) public transport, which severely restricted the job search area, as well as the lack of affordable housing, which also affected mobility. The close-knit nature of rural communities meant that social networks were particularly significant in smoothing the entry to employment; conversely, the lack of developed social networks or family stigma had an adverse effect on the chances of finding work.

Finding employment

The four rural labour markets studied are similar in so far as employment and training opportunities are restricted, personal transport is frequently a necessity and many employers use local contacts as a source of recruitment. At the same time, there are important differences. The ex-industrial rural labour market is particularly depressed and young people are forced to seek work outside of the local area (the local newspaper was scrutinised for a period of one month and the only job advertised in the area was a part-time job in a public house). The traditional and urban fringe labour markets had a greater level of job opportunities, although many jobs were unskilled or semi-skilled with limited on-the-job training provided. The seasonal labour market is different in several respects. First, many employment opportunities are short-term and correspond to peak tourist seasons and to periods of labour intensity on fish farms. Second, there are two fairly distinct labour markets within the seasonal area: one functions for the local residents, the second is focused more strongly on workers from outside of the local area (often from overseas) who are recruited for residential positions in hotels.

Respondents who had jobs at the time of interview were mainly employed in unskilled jobs (Table 8). Outside of the urban fringe, very few had skilled occupations. Those in the unskilled service sector were predominantly employed in hotels, hospitals and offices. Those in the skilled service sector worked in a diverse range of occupations, from a professional footballer to a laboratory technician. The majority of those working in the unskilled manufacturing sector were engaged in routine factory work or were labourers in the construction industry.

Through discussion with employers it became clear that many preferred young people with work experience. Evidence from young

Table 8 Occupations of rural interviewees

	Skilled manufacturing	Unskilled manufacturing	Skilled service	Unskilled service
Seasonal	1	3	3	6
Traditional	1	2	3	8
Urban fringe		2	7	4
Ex-industrial		5	1	3

people who had never worked also supported the significance of a lack of work experience.

> *[Work experience] is really important aye, I never actually thought it was important before but if you've never actually worked before then it doesn't matter how many grades you've got and how many bits of paper you show people, you've got to learn to work.* (Male Traditional)

Others found it harder to identify reasons for failing to obtain employment. Under the current benefit regulations, young people are required to make regular applications for jobs, but many never received any formal replies from employers. Some obtained interviews, but were given no feedback on their lack of success: as a result, many young people were unable to address any specific weaknesses and tended to lose self-confidence.

A small number of young people had gained employment (often of a temporary nature) directly through youth training schemes or work experience organised by their schools. However, while their experience of a full-time job is likely to provide them with advantages on the labour market, all of those who obtained jobs in this manner were subsequently laid off.

Very few members of the sample had made the transition from temporary/seasonal employment to permanent employment, or from part-time employment into full-time employment. Indeed, the two labour markets tended to be somewhat distinct and mobility between them restricted. This was particularly true of the part-time labour market which was dominated by females with childcare responsibilities. Barriers here tended to stem from a lack of childcare facilities and the absence of family or friends who were able or willing to look after their young children. There were no childcare facilities in any of the rural locations.

Self-employment among young people has increased in recent years, with many young people regarding it as the only alternative to long-term unemployment. Two of the young people interviewed had ended a period of unemployment through becoming self-employed, both having skilled trades (an electrician and a joiner). The electrician was relatively successful and regularly worked on building sites throughout Scotland. However, the work entailed long hours and extensive travel. The joiner tried unsuccessfully to make a living in the local area, despite obtaining a set-up grant from a youth trust. Living in a remote rural area, few job opportunities emerged and after obtaining just one contract in his first year, he registered as unemployed.

An informal economy was also evident within the study areas with a number of young people undertaking paid work whilst unemployed. However, the practice did not seem to be widespread, although respondents may have been reluctant to divulge such activities. Moreover, among those who did work 'on the side', work appeared to be sporadic and poorly paid. There was evidence of exploitation by employers with a waitress, for example, being paid £1 per hour.

> *When I was on the Brew, I had a wee kind of part-time job in the kennels, but I never declared it 'cos it was only £1.50 an hour anyway. Just helping the woman with her dogs and that, ken, when she was away on holiday and stuff. I mean she paid me for it but it was never enough for to declare it to the Brew anyway.* (Female Ex-Industrial)

Social networks

Among those interviewed, social networks were clearly seen as an essential source of information. The majority of those who had found work had been provided with information or introductions through family or friends. Social networks were particularly important in the ex-industrial area where employment opportunities were severely restricted and few jobs were advertised. Indeed, in this area young people felt quite strongly that networks were 'the only way to get a job' (Male Traditional). Young people made use of a range of contacts to find jobs, but in all of the areas members of the immediate family were particularly important. Many said that if it wasn't for the influence of a parent 'I would not have had a chance' (Male Urban Fringe). Although young people in each of the areas highlighted the importance of family connections, these seemed to be weaker in the more remote areas where opportunities tend to be further away from the place of residence.

The importance of family contacts in rural areas should not be under estimated, yet there are a range of other informal contacts on which young people draw. More distant relatives often had a role to play, as did friends and neighbours. These weaker connections often provided sources of information rather than sponsored entry.

> *It was one of my pals I never seen for a while I asked her if there were any jobs and that, and she says well phone up and give my name and say that I told you to phone. So I phoned and eventually I got a job out of it.* (Female Ex-Industrial)

> *My brother- in- law's father, he found out from my mate that I was looking for work and he just phoned me up and offered me a job. So that was great. The fish farm I found out through a friend that they were looking for people, so I phoned and I got taken on. The fishing boat was also through a friend.* (Male Seasonal)

Clearly, a heavy reliance on social networks works to the disadvantage of those without strong roots in an area. One young person whose family were 'incomers' was out of work for sometime. He felt that many of the problems he encountered on the local labour market were a direct result of his lack of contacts and eventually started his own business.

> *It tends to be one of those word of mouth things, again being a small area a lot of people know people's parents. Or they know when, you know, if someone's moving out they tend to recommend somebody else that they know is wanting to move. Sometimes it tends to be who you know.* (Male Seasonal)

Family stigma

While strong family contacts can clearly smooth young people's transitions to employment, in small communities poor family reputations can also prove to be a barrier to employment. Some young people claimed that their 'incomer' status was a disadvantage, especially since parents lacked local contacts and sometimes commuted to work outside of the area. More commonly moral judgements about lifestyles of young people or their families affected job prospects. Two families had moved away from the city as their sons had been involved in a drug scene and these encountered problems in

the labour market. One young woman cited the example of her boyfriend who was ostracised by members of the local community for being a 'trouble-maker'.

> *They thought he was a troublemaker. He tried to get a job in my work and because people heard who he was hanging around with they weren't interested.* (Female Seasonal)

Single parents also felt that they were being marginalised on account of their lifestyles with moral judgements hindering employment prospects and social acceptance.

> *It's just basically crap for the single parent 'cos people look down on you, they're not keen to take on single parents. It affects the kids as well. I took her to playgroup last week and all the other mothers were looking down their noses pulling their kids away from her 'cos I was a single parent and they weren't.* (Female Seasonal)

Housing

Although most young people interviewed lived in the family home and had not considered moving, the lack of affordable accommodation was an issue for some who felt that they would eventually have to move to another area. A number of respondents were graduates who regarded their housing situation as temporary, having returned to the family home for financial reasons whilst seeking permanent jobs on the national labour market or temporary ones locally.

The availability of housing varied between areas, with council housing being most readily available in the ex-industrial area. In the traditional and urban fringe area, the availability of affordable accommodation was poor and young people expected to have to move to the nearest urban centre. However, the situation in many urban towns can also be difficult: in Oban there are plans to open a Foyer to meet the needs of an influx of young people from the Western Isles.

Those who had moved away from the parental home but who remained in the local area often tended to have expensive and poor quality accommodation. In the seasonal area, caravan dwelling is common among young people in the summer, while holiday cottages are rented in the winter. Two respondents were 'permanent' caravan dwellers: one had bought a caravan and paid minimal ground rent, the other paid £65 a week in rent, £12.50 a week council tax and £15 per week for electricity.

Wages

Wages can form a barrier to employment where they are insufficient to cover the cost of daily transport or, when this is necessary, to enable young people to afford accommodation in a new area. Young people can also find it difficult to find work if they have unrealistically high wage expectations. Among the young people we spoke to, several graduates had relatively high wage expectations (over £15,000 per anum), although there were graduates who were willing to settle for £10,000. However, the majority of non-graduates expected to earn less than £4 per hour and a few were willing to work for less than the Government's minimum wage of £3.60 an hour. Those seeking work in residential settings tended to expect between £80 and £100 per week. Only two young people said that they were unwilling to work for less than £4 per hour and both of these had

previously been in jobs paying over £7 per hour. Young people also felt that small local employers couldn't be expected to afford high wages and some said that they would accept a lower wage in the local area than they would in the town.

> *£3.00 that's a lot, especially local people, because they can't afford to pay them big wages.* (Female Seasonal)

Transport

In rural areas, young people frequently have to travel long distances to work, yet the cost of public transport and restricted timetables have a negative impact on opportunities. Distances travelled varied by area, with those in the seasonal area being prepared to travel furthest. One respondent, for example, travelled a total of 52 miles per day to work in a small café for £3.82 an hour. A respondent in the urban fringe travelled to Glasgow every day, a round trip of 70 miles. In general, those travelling long distances tended to have career type jobs, although those without jobs frequently said that they were prepared to travel long distances. Young people's spatial horizons tended to be more restricted in the ex-industrial area where there was a stronger tradition of local employment.

> *I think in a rural area you've gotta be prepared to travel a lot more than most people have and just accept it as a fact of life.* (Male Traditional)

There were examples of young people who spent large periods of time travelling and spent a high proportion of their wages on travel costs. One young person who worked in Kilmarnock, for example, had to work on Sundays despite a lack of public transport. This involved a cost of £15 for a single journey.

> *It's like £15 and I get a run up to Kilmarnock. I just get a bus from Kilmarnock Bus Station back, they're operating a Sunday service so the time's alright for when I come out my work to get a bus from Kilmarnock, but in the morning you don't get the first bus 'til about half ten and I start at half eight.* (Male Ex-Industrial)

Those who were working had found a range of solutions to their transport problems, but access to jobs frequently involved great inconvenience and cost. These young people tended to stress the ways in which their job search had been limited by transport and the extent to which they relied on other people to provide transport solutions. Most young people stressed the importance of having a driving licence and being able to afford a car.

Many of those with jobs some distance away from their home town said that without a car, it would be impossible to get to work. However, unless parents were able to help them buy a car, transport could remain a problem and some of those who were unemployed recognised that driving lessons were essential, even though they couldn't afford them.

> *It does help if you've got the transport, if you don't then you can find yourself restricted to the area you can work in and you're very very restricted. In actual fact if you're in a low employment area you know your chances of work are going to be very very small whereas if you do have transport behind you you've opened yourself out and you can go for other jobs in the surrounding area.* (Male Urban Fringe)

Aye transport, like I'm not getting enough off the Brew to like take driving lessons, I've got my provisional, I managed to take one lesson, I'd just started taking driving lessons when I was working full-time but then I got paid off and the company was running at a loss, I've had to cancel my driving lessons and that was that. (Male Ex-Industrial)

With employers being aware of travel difficulties, the issue of transport was frequently raised in interviews. Some employers stipulated the need for personal transport.

There's a lot of jobs at Falkirk and I went for one, and the first thing they said to me was, well you're from 'Merrick', where is it? Oh, do you have any transport, such as how you gonna get there it's early mornings. (Male, Urban Fringe)

In most of the areas, finding public transport to enable them to seek work in the nearest town was clearly impossible. While many shops now open on Sundays, buses rarely run. Bus timetables can also become more restricted outside of school terms. Stories about a severe lack of transport and the high cost of journeys were reported by young people in all areas, but those in remote areas clearly had the greatest problems.

I mean to go to Oban and back the buses are terrible, I mean you get a bus half ten to Oban and the next one's 6 o'clock back, and by the time you pay your expenses it's £10 to get to Oban and back every day so it's hardly worth my while to go. (Female Seasonal)

At the moment it's on winter timetables so you can get one to Oban on a Monday, a Wednesday and a Friday. That gets you into Oban for half past ten and it comes back out at ten to two and that's the only bus. (Female Seasonal)

Well if you want to go into Glasgow return for the day on the bus it's £10, so a five day week there's £50, £200 a months travelling and it doesn't get you there for 9 o'clock. (Female Urban Fringe)

Given these limitations, young people rely heavily on lifts from family or friends. In the urban fringe, where some have parents who commute to the city for work, this may not represent a major obstacle. However, other young people depend on people making major detours or special journeys.

My dad takes me to work in the morning, there's no way I can get here with public transport. (Female Urban Fringe)

Opportunities for education and training in rural areas are frequently severely restricted. While the level of education and training opportunities affects many rural residents, it has a particularly strong impact on poorly qualified youth. For those who dropped out of a particular course, there were also problems in re-engaging as the choices of alternative courses or institutions tended to be limited. A number of young people who attended courses outside of their home area found themselves unable to continue due to financial pressures and those who dropped out of courses tended to drift into low skilled employment or Government training schemes. This situation may be improved with the introduction of the education and training option under the New Deal, although problems in accessing provision are likely to remain.

Transport restrictions also forced many young people to abandon long-held aspirations,

even when they had obtained formal training in a specific field. One, for example, had begun an apprenticeship in panel beating, but training was curtailed due to the bankruptcy of the firm. Despite their efforts, no similar opportunities were identified within travelling distance and the young person was forced to obtain unskilled work. Examples of young people with skills having to accept unskilled work were particularly common in the ex-industrial area, partly because industrial decline had led to a sharp reduction in the availability of many skilled jobs.

The experience of unemployment

In Chapter 2, we demonstrated that young people in rural areas were less likely to experience long-term unemployment than their urban counterparts. Nevertheless, it is important to stress that the experience of unemployment can be different in a number of respects. Isolation and boredom were seen as major problems, and many saw this as among the greatest disadvantages of living in a rural area. As one young person said, the area was all right if you liked 'walking', implying that there were few other activities to occupy their time. Others mentioned that 'you see people just walking about the streets during the day and at night and its just boredom, there's nothing to do'. Feelings of isolation were mentioned less frequently in the ex-industrial area.

Even when there where local recreational facilities, unemployed young people were often excluded for financial reasons. In one area, a local hotel had a swimming pool to which local people had access on payment of a membership fee. As one young person commented:

> *I mean its very sad that people that live here can't afford it 'cos its gonna cost a fortune.* (Female Seasonal)

For those living independently, unemployment heightened their awareness of the high cost of living in rural areas. Accommodation costs were perceived as high, as was the cost of essential groceries which sometimes had to be bought from a mobile shop.

> *That wee shop up there you can't get a pint of milk after a certain time and its £1 for a loaf of bread, that's ridiculous.* (Female Seasonal)

When the young person had family living nearby, lifts were often provided to the local town so that they could purchase cheaper goods in the larger stores, although more perishable goods still had to be bought locally.

Many young people who were unemployed at the time of interview were extremely pessimistic about their chances of securing work. Some placed their faith in the local Jobcentre, but others argued that even those jobs which were advertised were difficult to access. Some explicitly required applicants to have their own transport, while those with children could see no way of being able to gain employment. Parents often had childcare problems, but also highlighted negative attitudes of employers towards single mothers.

> *I was a single parent and they were kinda wary about taking me on because of the wean and job and that, taking time off for the weans. They're always telling you we want younger ones with no weans.* (Female Urban Fringe)

Summary

In this chapter we examined young people's perspectives on bridges and barriers to employment in rural communities. With all of the young people interviewed having experienced a recent period of employment, they were able to provide first-hand evidence of the difficulties they faced in finding work. In the previous chapter we noted the importance attached to work experience by employers: many of the young people we spoke to lacked work experience and also perceived this as a major barrier.

Significant barriers identified included a lack of transport which was an issue in all of the rural areas. Timetables were restrictive, costs often prohibitive, and only those with reasonable wages could afford cars. This lack of transport served to restrict opportunities and limited the job search area, although if feasible in terms of timetables and cost, young people were prepared to travel long distances for work. Yet even when a young person was prepared to travel for work, employers seemed to be reluctant to take them on as they feared extensive travel, especially in the winter, would result in poor time-keeping.

The lack of affordable housing represented another barrier. Although most of the young people we spoke to lived at home, there was an awareness that high costs and poor availability would force them to move out in the future. Many of those who had moved away from home lived in poor quality accommodation, such as caravans. For females with children, the lack of childcare facilities also restricted employment opportunities.

Social networks were seen as significant bridges for some, but a lack of contacts formed barriers for others. The majority of our respondents who had made a successful transition from unemployment to jobs had relied heavily on social networks. Those who lacked contacts were disadvantaged, as were those who were stigmatised by the community in some way. Those perceived as 'trouble-makers', those that kept 'bad company', single parents and incomers found that negative perceptions about their lifestyle meant that being known in a community could work to their disadvantage.

The young people also provided evidence of the greater hardships suffered by young people in rural areas. Isolation and boredom were common, but many also felt that they were so cut-off from employment opportunities that they had little chance of gaining work.

Note

1 Details of sample selection are provided in Appendix 3.

5 Conclusions and policy implications

While youth unemployment has become an increasingly common part of the transition from school to work, few studies have focused specifically on youth unemployment in rural areas. This report has focused on a group of rural youth who had recently encountered a period of unemployment and identifies bridges and barriers to labour market integration. It focuses on young people's accounts of their experiences, presents the perspectives of employers and key professionals in rural areas and contrasts the experiences of rural youth with their urban counterparts. In this final chapter, we bring these perspectives together and highlight some of the implications for policy.

Recognising that the term 'rural' is used to cover a wide range of circumstances, the study focused on four distinct types of rural area: a traditional rural area, an urban fringe area, a seasonal area and an ex-industrial rural area. In some ways young people living in each of these areas encounter a different set of possibilities for employment, education and training, yet many of the barriers they face are common to all areas. The main differences between the areas relate to the level of job opportunities, the availability of seasonal employment and the extent to which poor transport and housing provision inhibits employment possibilities. In the ex-industrial area many of the problems faced by young people stemmed from a severe shortage of all types of employment, rather than a lack of affordable housing or transport difficulties. In the seasonal area, young people were frequently able to find jobs, but were often unable to develop sustainable careers.

Transport was a key issue for many of the young people interviewed. Many lacked access to private transport and the public transport services tended to operate restrictive and costly services. The lack of transport frequently restricted young people's choices and employers were often wary about taking on young people who had to make long or complex journeys, even when the young people themselves were willing. While there are no simple solutions to travel problems, there are a number of ways in which these barriers can be reduced. First, given that young people tend to be willing to travel relatively long distances but are frequently restricted by costs, youth travel subsidies would be beneficial. Second, driving licences are particularly important for rural youth and therefore driving lessons should be provided either at school or through the New Deal. Third, greater flexibility on the part of employers is desirable. Where possible, employers should be encouraged to operate flexi-time policies which enable young people to make use of existing bus services.

A comparison between the experiences of rural and urban youth unemployment failed to reveal systematic disadvantage among those living in rural areas. Indeed, the chances of finding work in depressed urban areas are much poorer and long-term youth unemployment is more common. At the same time, it is important to recognise that the problems faced by rural youth are quite different from their urban counterparts and, as such, distinct solutions must be found. With rural labour markets being dominated by low skill and insecure employment, labour flexibility is a key issue, but it is important to find ways of ensuring that young people do not get trapped in an endless series of dead-end jobs. In urban areas, training in specific skills may help young people to access quality jobs; the link between skills and

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jobs in rural areas is not so clear. In rural as in urban areas, young people are often trained in specific skills, either with a local employer or through a college course. On completing the training, young people in urban areas may be able to apply to a number of employers who require employees with these specific skills. The same is not always true for rural youth who frequently find that demand for their skills is dispersed over a much wider geographical area, parts of which are inaccessible due to transport problems. In these circumstances, training in a specific skill may be followed by unskilled employment.

With a more tenuous link between skill training and employment prospects, we suggest that a more flexible approach to the implementation of the New Deal is required in rural areas. Generic rather than specific skills may provide greater advantages in terms of future labour flexibility. With many rural employers being unable to provide the required skill training under the New Deal, there would also seem to be a case for a new option in which work experience was combined with more general education or training in alternate settings. While general educational qualifications seemed to provide young people with advantages in the labour market (contrary to the employers' view that they were of little importance), work experience and the introduction to informal networks were also important. The combination of general education and work experience may be more effective in providing bridges to work than discrete packages which offer either education or specific skill training programmes. At present, may rural employers who are willing to become involved in the New Deal are unable to participate due to their inability to meet minimum training requirements, yet it is desirable to explore ways of drawing on their skills and enthusiasm.

Social networks facilitated access to job opportunities for those young people with good local contacts. For others, especially those who were stigmatised in some way, the lack of social networks could represent an important barrier. In these circumstances it is important to find ways of introducing young people to networks which may be beneficial. The New Deal provides an opportunity to achieve this but earlier interventions, perhaps through school-based work experience or employment 'compacts' may prove to be effective.

Although females in rural labour markets faced fewer problems than males, there are significant gender issues which require attention. In areas which have a developed tourist industry, females with strong social skills are in relatively high demand. However, such jobs are often part-time and it is clear that those who find such jobs have difficulty finding full-time jobs. There is a concern that careers office officials may overlook the needs of this working group. Rural females with children also face more severe disadvantages than their urban counterparts given the lack of childcare facilities. While larger employers in urban areas are beginning to take the issue of childcare seriously, small rural employers are unlikely to address these needs. In these circumstances, it is important to consider more flexible modes of delivery, perhaps through crèches located in local primary schools.

With a restricted range of opportunities available in many rural areas, it is necessary to explore new ways of facilitating mobility for

those young people who wish to access jobs, training or education outside the local area. With less generous provision for the funding of higher education courses, the national trend is for more young people to remain in the parental home whilst undertaking degree courses. For those in rural areas, this tends not to be an option and access may be prevented by financial barriers to mobility. There is perhaps a case for a mobility grant for rural youth wishing to access educational opportunities which are not available locally. There is also a strong case for helping rural youth access urban labour markets through housing subsidies.

The lack of affordable housing also affects the opportunities of those young people who wish to remain in rural areas. Young people were often concerned about finding affordable housing and even those with jobs felt that there may come a stage when they would have to move away from the area in order to establish their own homes. Although many members of the sample lived with their parents, those who had moved out tended to have poor quality and/or high cost accommodation.

Appendix 1: Quantitative methods

The quantitative phase of this research draws on a unique sample of young people collected as part of a study of unemployed 18 to 24 year-olds funded by the European Commission. In November 1996 and February 1997, interviewers were located in 18 Jobcentres in contrasting areas of Scotland; in rural areas additional names were collected by writing to postal claimants. The aim of the first phase of the project was to collect a sample of 18 to 24 year-olds who were both unemployed and who had been out of work for at least three months during the previous year. This exercise yielded a sample of 1,725 unemployed young people from across Scotland.

The second phase of the research involved a postal survey which was conducted six months after the sample collection, in May 1997 and August 1997 (by which time some were employed, and others were unemployed, had withdrawn from the labour market or have embarked on routes through education or training). At this stage, 232 young people had moved home or become untraceable and the valid sample was reduced to the 1,493 who received questionnaires. After several postal and telephone reminders, the final achieved sample was 817, a response rate of 55 per cent.

Given that the sample was intended to reflect the national unemployment picture, it is skewed towards males: it contains 527 males and 290 females. The sample covers the age range 18 to 24, with a mean age of 20.7.

Appendix 2: Employers and professionals interviewed

Employers interviewed

Table A1 Ex-industrial area

Company	Type	Employees F/T	Employees P/T	18–24 F/T	18–24 P/T	18–24 F/T M	18–24 F/T F	18–24 P/T M	18–24 P/T F	Seasonal/ casual
Craft	Man	9	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	Yes
Knitwear	Man	160	37	9	0	0	9	0	0	No
Dairy	Service	75	8	13	0	5	8	0	0	Yes
Carpets	Man	110	0	14	0	8	6	0	0	No
Bottlers	Man	30	0	10	0	7	3	0	0	Yes (10)*
Wire	Service	7	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	No**
Hotel	Service	7	0	2	0	1	1	0	0	Yes
Hire	Service	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	No
Universal	Man	32	0	10	0	5	5	0	0	Yes (10)
Hair	Service	3	1	3	1	0	3	0	1	No

* There were ten temporary staff between the ages of 18 and 24.
** This company uses sub-contractors in busy periods.

Table A2 Urban fringe

Company	Type	Employees F/T	Employees P/T	18–24 F/T	18–24 P/T	18–24 F/T M	18–24 F/T F	18–24 P/T M	18–24 P/T F	Seasonal/ casual
Farms	Man	18	1	2	0	2	0	0	0	Yes (2)
Scaffold	Service	49	0	10	0	10	0	0	0	Yes
Agency	Service	8	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	No
Hotel	Service	3	0	3	0	2	1	0	0	Yes
Research	Service	10	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	No
Precast	Man	17	2	15	0	15	0	0	0	Yes
Timber	Man	57	0	30	0	29	1	0	0	No
Farms	Service	43	2	5	0	3	2	0	0	No
Plastics	Man	269	0	7	0	6	1	0	0	No
Hotel	Service	4	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	Yes

Table A3 Seasonal area

Company	Type	Employees F/T	Employees P/T	18–24 F/T	18–24 P/T	18–24 F/T M	18–24 F/T F	18–24 P/T M	18–24 P/T F	Seasonal/ casual
Hotel	Service	9	4	2	1	0	2	0	1	Yes
Fish farm	Man	280	33	51	20	35	16	16	4	Yes (100)
Leisure Clothing	Service Man	13	3	8	3	3	2	1	0	Yes (7)
Kitchen	Service	75	*	15	0	6	9	*	*	Yes
Hotel	Service									
Estate	Service	3	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	No
Distillery	Man	16	0	2	0	2	0	0	0	Yes (10)**
Removal	Service	7	0	5	0	5	0	0	0	No
Garden	Service	5	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	No

* The company employs numerous numbers of schoolchildren at weekends.
** All seasonal staff are students employed in the summer.

Table A4 Traditional

Company	Type	Employees F/T	Employees P/T	18–24 F/T	18–24 P/T	18–24 F/T M	18–24 F/T F	18–24 P/T M	18–24 P/T F	Seasonal/ casual
Hotel	Service	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	Yes
Dairy	Man	155	2	17	0	10	7	0	0	Yes (4)
Designs	Man	4	4	4	0	1	3	0	0	Yes (4)
Board	Service	20	6	2	2	2	0	2	0	Yes (29)
Greek	Man	130	0	16	0	15	1	0	0	No
Shop	Service	6	18	1	4	1	0	0	4	Yes*
Forest	Service	50	0	2	4	1	1	0	4	Yes
Import	Service	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	No
Health	Service	80	51	0	5	0	0	1	4	Yes**
Rubber	Man	400	20	20	50***	0	0	30	20	Yes

* Schoolchildren on Saturdays.
** Majority of seasonal staff are students employed through the summer.
*** The young people are all temporary employees with this employer.

Key professionals interviewed

1 Alison McLean – Argyll and Bute Training and Enterprise Company

2 Mary McKellar – Stirling Careers Service

3 Janice Carlisle – Stirling Careers Service

4 Alison McNeil – Argyll and Island Enterprise

5 Catrina Eagle – Argyll and Bute Careers Service

6 Alasdair Bouard – Rural Strategy Officer Argyll and Bute

7 Joan Savage – Rural Strategy Officer Stirling

8 Justina Murray – Stirling Council

9 Francis Webster – Oban Careers Service

10 Careers Officer – Dumfries College

11 Heather Tyler – Forth Valley Enterprise

12 Seamus Lalor – Argyll and Bute Council

13 Gillian McInnes – Argyll and Bute Council

14 John Holt – Scottish Young Business Trust

15 John Henderson – Council Careers Service Dumfries

16 Phil Robinson – Quarrier Homes

17 Jana Hunt – Highland and Island Enterprise

18 Gillian Russell – Ayr College

19 Angela Burns – Cumnock Jobcentre

20 David Donaldson – East Ayshire Council

21 Anne Philips – Jump Start

22 Fiona McIntyre – Oban Jobcentre

23 New Deal Adviser – Stirling Jobcentre

24 New Deal Adviser – Oban Jobcentre

25 Caroline Stewart – Forth Valley Enterprise

Appendix 3: Young people's interviews

The sample described in Appendix 1 was used to select a total of 80 young people evenly distributed between the four local labour markets. Individuals were selected to ensure full coverage of a range of situations and experiences: account was taken of gender, age, educational qualifications, total length of unemployment, household composition, main activity during the previous week, age first unemployed and employment status.

The majority of young people (47 per cent) lived with both natural parents, 20 per cent lived with one parent, 10 per cent lived alone and 7 per cent were residing with friends. Six of the young people interviewed had children; three were single parents. The gender and age breakdown of the sample are shown in Tables A5 and A6. The skew towards males reflects current unemployment trends in Scotland. Given that the sample is drawn from young people who had experienced a recent period of unemployment, the overall level of qualifications is below the national average. The educational qualifications of those interviewed are shown in Table A7.

Table A7 Educational qualifications of sample

Educational qualifications	Males	Females
No qualifications	8	3
1 or more O Grade	14	10
1 or more Higher	9	9
College Diploma	10	5
University Degree	6	6

Table A5 Young people interviewed (males)

Age	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Total
Ex-industrial	4	3	2	2	1		2	14
Seasonal		2	2	4	2		1	11
Traditional	1		3	2	2	1	3	12
Urban fringe	3	1	1	4		1		10
Total	8	6	8	12	5	2	6	47

Table A6 Young people interviewed (females)

Age	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	Total
Ex-industrial	1	1	1		1		2	6
Seasonal	1	3	2	2		1		9
Traditional	2	2		1	1	1	1	8
Urban fringe	3	2	2		1	1	1	10
Total	7	8	5	3	3	3	4	33

Appendix 4: Regression analysis

Table A8 Regression variables

Dependent variable	Min 3, Max 120
Total duration of unemployment since leaving school (months)	
Independent variables	
Age	Min 18, Max 24
Scheme	0 = never on a scheme 1 = experience of a scheme
Rural	0 = urban 1 = rural
Parents	0 = brought up with two natural parents 1 = not brought up with two natural parents
Dad occupation	1 = non-manual 0 = other
Mum occupation	1 = non-manual 0 = other
Dad unemployment	0 = less than 6 months of last 12 1 = more than 6 months of last 12
Mum unemployment	0 = less than 6 months of last 12 1 = more than 6 months of last 12
No qualifications	(residual)
O Grade	0 = no O Grade passes 1 = O Grade passes
Diploma	0 = no Diploma or Highers 1 = Diploma or Highers
Degree	0 = no Degree 1 = Degree

Table 9 Logistic regression predicting total duration of unemployment since leaving school

	Males		Females	
	Beta	t	Beta	t
Age	0.347	8.625	0.459	7.774
Scheme	0.077	1.932	-0.032	0.587
Rural	-0.089	2.277	-0.066	1.254
Parents	0.103	2.606	0.132	2.469
Dad occupation	0.020	0.437	-0.120	2.065
Mum occupation	-0.043	1.036	-0.056	0.933
Dad unemployment	0.115	2.718	0.014	0.246
Mum unemployment	0.080	1.895	0.022	0.373
O Grade	-0.173	3.715	-0.109	1.495
Diploma	-0.294	6.219	-0.375	4.837
Degree	-0.327	6.940	-0.509	6.148

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